[50 cont.]

arrow in the first case and saves a person sentenced to death in a dream through the blood of a sacrificed animal in the second. (h) Furthermore, in the second case we find an apparent substitution of the personality of the individual, or better still, a partial sacrifice of the same on his handing over for sacrifice an animal owned by him. (i) In the sacrifice of animals of a ritual funerary character, we can distinguish the following effects obtained: First the propitiation of the dead man's spirit which, as may be seen in the chapter corresponding to "Magic and Funerals," can be beneficial, neutral, or malicious. This depends on whether all the considerations due to his status are maintained or not, or if all or part of the taboos established in this respect in the course of the social life of the community are violated or not. Second, the confirmation of the belief of a life beyond the tomb as a reflection of the earthly life. The sacrifice, in the sense that the dead animal accompanies its owner into the next life and places him on the same social plane that he occupied in this one among his fellow spirits there, confirms such a belief in the almost material life beyond the grave. [51]

IV

Sickness and Medicine

If we take into account the essential characteristics of primitive mentality, we should remember that their world is what we might call metaphysical, since the objects that surround them do not have a real existence as they do not look at them with a truly objective discernment but allow their imagination to be deceived by the strange things around them so that these become supernatural beings, all animated, not in the physical sense of movement but in their capacity to do good or evil, or to intervene in any manner whatever in the lives of men, of other beings, and of the cosmos in general. All that relates to the surroundings of primitive people: rocks, plants, animals, natural phenomena ... , are active beings in the best sense of the word, capable of intervention and worthy of the Indian's respect,

[51 cont.]

fear, or admiration. The primitive has not at this stage reached the discernment necesary to establish the logical relation between phenomena and their real causes, but establishes a magic relationship that in the majority of cases does not correspond to any concrete or objective reality.

This manner of thinking and of feeling is especially reflected in the facts related to the individual himself and his organic reactions and, essentially, in the variations to which his organism is susceptible in the biological or pathological sense. To the primitive sicknesses are not ills caused by pathogenic germs (we say this in the general sense as there are some exceptions) or by internal or external disorders but are the result of the harmful actions of some being — animal, human, mineral, or vegetable — who is the sick man's potential enemy or one whom he has injured in some way or another, especially in violating the social ritual arrangements which at first were related almost exclusively to the totem and which then gradually evolved toward diverse forms of magic which lead him to a real investigatory curiosity.

This curiosity is not limited, as might be expected, to the simple act of knowing what phenomenon or what individual spirit might have caused the sickness, but sets out to understand the whole matter in order to put into [52] practice a method of cure — it does not matter of what kind — which will bring one back to the state of health, to normality, and remove him from contact with the dangerous world of the spirits.

For this reason, in the following pages we shall find ourselves confronted with this phenomenon: if the causes of the sickness are magic or, in more general terms, supernatural, the methods of curing applied must be of the same type. The world of the spirits is considered to be superior to the normal world of the living, because it is unknown or partially so. The struggle then, face to face, of individual against spirit will be unequal because the latter — the spirit — is aided by supernatural forces with which the living are unacquainted. For this reason it is indispensable that shamans should be called in — the intermediaries between man and spirit, or that he employ, when

[114 cont.]
789 phenomenon — organize, as in the case of the eclipses, noisy
821 groups who shout aloud, [115] begging the lightning to withdraw, to go to the sea and make the storms that frequently lash the coasts of Cabo de la Vela and Chichibacoa.

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When the Guajiro is on the sea and, as frequently happens, his vessel becomes becalmed, he calls on the breeze to return by means of a long-drawn-out whistle, trying every pitch until he gets it to return.

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821 Finally, if at dusk a considerably large, vividly red cloud
787 appears, the native believes that it announces that there will shortly be a war between two clan organizations.

787 Magic and dreams. The Guajiro Indian looks upon his dreams as revelations of the future. His mentality does not con-
813 ceive them as products of the past or as being associated with certain psycho-physiological phenomena, but as previews of his life, as a way of seeing future happenings, as revelations made by the spirits of strange things that will happen to the person dreaming or to those that appear in the dream. These dreams are not, therefore, private personal phenomena but social events, as what they contain affects the entire community or parts of it and determines many of their individual or collective acts, since the Guajiro is always strongly linked to this phenomenon as he is to all other magic; and in this respect he is a determinist. His life, his social and economic activities, his relations with his geographic surroundings, his illnesses, birth and death are determined by this play of magic interactions. It does not
813 matter that the phenomena are not always repeated in the same way or that on many occasions the events expected to occur as the consequence of a certain concatenation of magic causes do not take place or do so in a different or even contrary manner to that expected; the native does not waver in his belief in that invisible but active force. He continues to be attached to it, as

[115 cont.]

813 to a faith or a creed. And only the presence of distinct elements in his civilization and contact with other human groups more advanced and rational (in our sense) is undermining the power of this force which, in great part, constitutes, regulates, and governs his way of life.

121 787 In this study which we present we are not interested in dreams as events tied to the psychic life of the individual, nor are we going to try to interpret them. [116] This is part of another work which will be presented later by other investigators. The phenomenon as such interests us, especially the interpretation the native gives his dreams as revelations of future events, of forthcoming happenings related to his own life, to that of his fellow beings in particular, or to the community in general. In other words, the magic act that denotes, as Thorndike states, "a mental state," a way of feeling and thinking, a method of explaining effects whose causes are unknown. We will, therefore, simply describe a series of dreams and their meaning to the native, without comments except in cases where we consider it strictly necessary in order to clarify certain situations or special institutions to which they refer.

787 But before dealing with this matter, we shall first make a subdivision of dreams into two categories, in accordance with their content, which we may describe as the real and the symbolic. The first would appear to be the work of special spirits who reveal themselves through the medium of dreams to give their assistance and protection to an individual in an almost direct manner: These dreams are so clear, so explicit, that they require no interpretation. They are like a conversation between the individual and the spirit in which the latter tells the former all the things he must do; for example, the herbs that he must take to cure a certain illness from which he is suffering. On the other hand, the other dreams do not have this direct relation but are detached from active reality. Their interpretation — usually made by the shaman — demonstrates phenomena of a socially determined character which should be prevented or hastened. These dreams are those that give rise to the series of ceremonies or rites leading to a conjuration, as we saw in the corresponding chapter.